1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1939) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

776 time manifests himself in the shape of a short snake. It is stated that Gu Lao thus appears when stormy weather is expected, and is found on one of the boats, never on land. The boatmen then immediately sacrifice a chicken or even a pig, but only the head of the victim is offered to Gu Lao, who thereupon dives overboard, and the weather improves. The boatmen will not sail unless this rite has been performed if Gu Lao has been seen on a ship. Unfortunately his appearances are rare and I was never able to witness the rite, or to catch a glimpse of Gu Lao in his snake shape. It is, however, a fact that the people of the eastern shore never call a snake by the usual word, but always call it "Gu Lao". One may observe that in other parts of China also the snake is regarded as a dragon in disguise, or what one might call in "undress uniform". Eels are common in the lake and there are also water snakes, the chance discovery of these in the bilge of a boat or close by in the shallows is probably the foundation of the Gu Lao legend.

776 778 Apart from these named and personified deities there exist a large number of "*ser*" that is, spirits, who are associated with various places or ancient monuments. Thus the god of the roads is worshipped at numerous cross roads by simply burning a stick of incense at the foot of a tree or a stone. Wells and springs, especially the very hot spring of sulphurous water near Erh Yuan city north of Ta Li, are often regarded as under the care of a *ser*, who is worshipped in the usual way, by burning incense. The hottest spring near Erh Yuan is in fact regarded as sacred and no evaporation of sulphur is carried on there, instead it is surrounded with incense sticks and paper flags, a form of worship which may perhaps owe something to imitation of Tibetan prayer flags. Certain large rocks scattered over the lower slopes of T'sang Shan, some of which have in past times had Buddhas engraved on them, are now regarded as sacred,

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

usually acting as shrines to the Mountain God, whose name is sometimes chiselled on a smooth face. The enormous evergreen trees called by the Chinese *tung ching shu*, "Winter Green Tree", a kind of ilex (*ilex pedunculosa*), which are planted near temples and in villages, also come in for a share of incense burning, though no one can positively say whether the tree is itself sacred, or merely the home of another spirit such as the Road God.

Another sacred spot, associated with sacrifices for recovery from illness, is the tomb of the Mongol soldiers of Kublai Khan outside the West Gate, near one of the Nan Chao pagodas. The tomb, the common grave of all who fell at the capture of Ta Li by Kublai, is a large mound surmounted by a more modern stone tablet which records its history. At this place persons who are sick, or who are acting on behalf of a sick relative, burn incense, and sacrifice a fowl, which is then cooked and eaten on the spot. Part of the rite is to break a pottery bowl on the stone base of the tablet erected by the Ming Emperor Hung Wu, which records his conquest of Yunnan from the Mongol Yüan dynasty a century later. This tablet stands close to the Mongol tomb, and is now surrounded by a large mound of broken potsherds, testimony to the antiquity of this rite. No one can give any reason for the association of these two monuments with the healing of sickness, nor do any precise ideas of the agency invoked exist. No god is connected with the two places, and there seems to be no reason why the spirits of Mongol soldiers and their Ming successors should be supposed to have healing powers.

Not very far from the Mongol Tomb and Ming Tablet there is another monument of Kublai Khan, the great stone tablet on a stone tortoise which records at length his conquest and pacification of Yunnan. This monument is well known and its character is familiar to every educated per-

1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

776 778 755 son. It is in no way a religious monument, even though it has three marble Buddhas carved on the reverse side of the pediment. But to the peasants the stone tortoise has become some kind of spirit with the diverse powers of a god of wealth and a healer of eye diseases. The rites performed here are curious. At the New Year those who desire to increase their wealth in the coming year break small copper cash on the back of the tortoise and scatter the pieces around it, as usual burning incense sticks before the deity. Those who suffer from eye trouble take copper coins and twist them in the eye sockets of the tortoise, or rather in the holes where once the eyes existed, for the long performance of the rite has hollowed out the hard granite to a considerable depth.

782 753 751 A large number of these more informal rites not connected with the worship of any recognised deity are intended to alleviate sickness. The Min Chia, though not unaware of the theory of infection and contagion, as their beliefs about leprosy show, still think that religious rites are an effective preventive against epidemics. When there is sickness in the town, usually typhus or typhoid, it is customary to erect a shrine in the street, where musicians play and chant sutras before an altar spread with sweetmeats and flanked with incense burners, as in the New Year festival at a private house. The shrine is moved further up the street after two days and the rites repeated until the entire length has been purified. The householders subscribe to defray the expenses. The same rites are performed if a ghost has been seen in a street, for this is regarded as ill-omened for the inhabitants. Cactus leaves are pinned up on the door lintels during times of sickness, and it is believed that the spirits of disease will not enter a house so protected.

782 753 The Min Chia and the Yunnanese Chinese also will never eat the eggs of hens kept by lepers, for it is believed that if

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

the Israelites themselves up to the time of the captivity. If opinion does differ somewhat as to the exact character it assumed, whether among the Canaanites or the Israelites, the fact remains that they both did worship the Deity or deities in such sanctuaries.

The Canaanites had their mountain groves or high-places with a stone pillar or pillars in each, a tree or sacred pole, an altar and carved images of their gods. This is borne out from the command of Moses to the Israelites in Deuteronomy 12; 3: "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places, wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree: and ye shall overthrow their altars, and break their pillars, and burn their groves with fire; and ye shall hew down the graven images of their gods, and destroy the names of them out of that place." Then in Deuteronomy 16; 21 a further command is given: "thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image; which the Lord thy God hateth." The Israelites to begin with obeyed these commands, but worship in high places persisted. The prophet Samuel sacrificed there. The sanctuary at Gibeon, where Solomon once offered a thousand offerings, was called a high place. And the godly King Jehoshaphat, who turned not aside from what was right in the eyes of the Lord, yet did not hinder the people from burning incense in the high places. The Israelites, however, in times of religious relapse so restored the Canaanitish manner of worship that Ashera, the Hebrew term for grove, came to represent as well the images and pillars introduced therein.

798 The Chiang make no representation, carved or hewn, of Deity
171 but they publicly worship Him in a sacred grove high up on a mountain side or a mountain top. In the grove there is a sacrificial altar built of unhewn stones. Behind the altar grows a sacred tree which is an essential part of the sanctuary. Between the tree and the altar, or on the altar, stands a white stone of glistening purity, generally of quartz. Such a grove it will be noted is more elaborate in its contents than that recognised by the orthodox Israelites, yet has nothing of the corruption of that of the Canaanites. Essentially, this mode of worship, it will not be denied, suggests oneness of origin with both Canaanite and Hebrew, and brings down to us, does it not, a primitive form of Semitic worship in the dress of hoary antiquity? Doubtless the Canaanites did not originally have the corruptions that later characterised their groves and called forth the divine displeasure. Their cult, apparently, was a mixture of Semitic observance and Sumerian superstition.

776 The Chiang, more honourable than the Canaanites, have maintained their monotheism comparatively unsullied, and have given us an example of religious constancy to be found, apart from the Jews, in no other people.

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

778 The use of a sacred White Stone is a leading feature of Chiang worship. It is set up both in the groves and on the roofs of their houses. In the grove it stands above the altar of sacrifice; on the roof it is placed ever the middle of the battlement above the back wall. The Deity is not supposed to reside therein and it is not, therefore, worshipped. The Stone is sacred, in the first place, because of its whiteness. Whiteness betokens goodness in contrast to blackness, which betokens evil. Its colour thus symbolises the holiness of God who hates evil and loves good. It is sacred, secondly, because it reminds men that he is the natural Rock or Mount of their strength. That God is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, and that he is the Rock Source of all good and blessing, constitute the twin fundamental tenets of their belief.

778 The Stone requires to be conical or mount-like in shape and set up as found in its natural or unchissled state. Occasionally small white stones are placed around its base but these have no religious meaning. The significance of the Stone itself is the continual intimation it makes that God may only be approached by the way of holiness, and is only found when men respond to this demand of his character. As a monument on the house top it bears an unambiguous witness that those who dwell under it are a people who recognise the God of Heaven as their God, and are willing to serve him according to the immemorial customs of their fathers.

776 It will be seen from this that the religion of the Chiang is not one of stone-worship. To speak of it as such is to talk at random and gives a misleading impression. Some who want to believe that it is, because the affirmation sounds sensational, are the worst offenders. They prate about the White Stone worship but they have nothing to support the assertion except ignorant hear-say, or wilful misrepresentation. The Chiang are not animists. They know whom they worship and they do not worship him ignorantly. This requires to be said because already it has been stated far and wide that the Chiang worship the White Stone. A foreign journal once announced that the tribes people worshipped a white stone. The news was sensational; that was the effect desired. Truth, therefore, went by the board. Now, litholatry is a big word. It has a scientific or learned sound. The mere use of it is supposed to be ample proof that the Chiang are litholatrists, and the proving of this is necessary to be able to say they are animists—another big word. The Israelites had two sacred stones in their Holy of holies. Were they litholatrists? They lifted up their eyes unto the hills from whence came their help. Did they worship the hills? Did they not expressly state at the same time that their help came from Jehovah who made the Heaven and the earth? Let us be as just to the Chiang as we are to the Israelites.

It is useless to say that one was told by the Chinese that the Chiang worshipped the White Stone. The Chiang themselves deny

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

that they do. This should be enough. At the same time some of the ignorant among them may say that the White Stone is their "Pu-sa." Yet the same man tells you that he worships God and none other. In his mind there is no contradiction. The fault is yours if you fail to understand him. Certain words to him have a different meaning than to you. He speaks Chinese as a secondary language. Then he is talking down to you. He is pitying your ignorance and with his imperfect Chinese gives a wrong impression to the listener who has not wit enough to understand this. For instance, a tribesman may call his photograph his "pu-sa." But he knows enough that it is only a likeness. Though he uses this name for it that would not justify any one saying he worshipped himself, i.e. his own likeness, and is therefore, to be scientifically classed as an animist.

Sacred stones in primitive times were very comman. They were used in many different places in many different ways. In some instances they appear to have been worshipped. Few doubt that the Canaanites did. But no *true* Israelites did. The interest to us of the Chiang use of the White Stone is in the reflex light it throws on the use of memorial and covenant stones by the Hebrews. Jacob set up the stone that served as his pillow to mark the site where Jehovah appeared to him in promise and blessing. There he made his vow and from there he started on his journey with the assurance that the all-seeing eye of a gracious Providence watched over him for good. The stone was a mark, a memorial and a sign of his vow. For to him Heaven had opened in that place, and it was given him to see there a ladder of intercourse between earth and Heaven, very dreadful but very reassuring. We shall yet see that the Chiang hold almost identical views regarding their Stone which brings into fine relief those of the patriarchs.

Jacob, in his dying blessing to Joseph spoke of the Mighty One of Jacob who caused his bow to abide in strength and made his arms strong when he was grieved and shot at by his persecutors. The God of his father "from whence came the Shepherd and Stone of Israel, should help him and bless him with the blessing of Heaven above and of the deep that croucheth beneath." Obviously in Jacob's mind the Shepherd of Israel and Stone at Israel were one. In his own case he speaks of this Shepherd and Stone as the Angel who redeemed him from all evil. It was he who spoke to him in Paran; He, who as a man, wrestled with him at the Jabbok and by whom he uttered his parting blessings on his sons. The Chiang do not explicitely speak of their Stone as Shepherd or Angel but they do speak of an Angel or God-sent man who acts for them in their approach to God at the altar where the Stone stands. The Chiang and Hebrew concepts are so closely allied that they may be called alike in everything but the terminology.

It was on, Sinai, the Mount of cloud and fire that Jehovah revealed himself to the Israelites and made known his Voice to

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them in The Ten Words. In the song of Moses, Jehovah is described as "Our Rock." The Rock followed he people in the wilderness and from the rock, water was made to gush forth to supply their needs. A Pillar of cloud guided them by day and a Pillar of fire by night. Joshua on Mounts Ebal and Gerizim respectively set up plastered pillar-monuments of blessing and cursing with the Law written on them. And when he made a covenant with the heads of the nation before his death, he took a great stone as a witness and set it up under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord, in the same fashion as is found in the Chiang country to day. Though the words of Hannah are unknown to the Chiang they yet fully subscribe to them in their thought content: that "there is none holy as the Lord: for there is none beside Thee: neither is there any rock like unto our God." (1 Samuel 2; 2).

The Sacred Tree is another indispensable feature in the religion of the Chiang. All the trees in the grove are sacred and for this reason none may be cut, but The Tree behind the altar and adjacent to the White Stone is especially sacred. It is the one that gives locality and centralization to worship, even as it is the Whiteness of the Stone that indicates its mode and the altar that gives it reality. What further significance The Sacred Tree once had is not known. It would be easy to surmise that it was regarded as the Tree of Life, but the Chiang, as far as our knowledge goes, say nothing definite of this. They merely declare that it belongs to God. To it may be tied the sacrificial victim before being offered. And it is by way of the Sacred Tree that God comes when he descends from Heaven to meet His people in the Grove and by way of it he ascends again at the conclusion of the offering.

On the Chiang house tops we meet the Tree again. A straight branch is inserted behind the "O-pee" or White Stone. Here special perforated stone slabs hold it in place. Frequently two others, accompany it, one at either corner of the back parapet. In this way the flat roof takes the character of a private grove for the offering of family sacrifice. After the sacrifice these are left standing and a visitor by their appearance can always tell approximately what length of time has elapsed since the last offering was made.

A white outline of a Tree is not uncommanly drawn on the outside wall of a house. Drawn thus it is a symbol of blessing and prosperity. He who seeks God finds grace and worldly favour for he is the Author of all good.

Among the Chinese in Western China a symbolical tree with figures on either side was once in use. We have seen the portraiture on tomb bricks of the Han dynasty, on a sarcophagus and on ancient bronze mirrors. Where the idea originated or what it represents can only be surmised. To Westerners it suggest the Genesis story. Did the Chinese borrow it, one asks, from the Chiang?

3: Torrance E-4 (no date)1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

778 The altar is the third great requisite in Chiang worship. 191 Often it is a platform of earth faced with natural shaped stone. Or it may consist of a slab of stone resting on other stones. But of whatever form, the stone or stones used must remain unhewn. No human shaping is permissible. Any cutting or polishing of the stones defiles them for use in the divine altar.

Occasionally a flat rock *in situ* is utilized. Such, of course, answers the natural requirement. The approach to Deity may not be of human design or of man's invention. The approach is divinely provided apart from the worshipper's help or contrivance.

At the base of Mount Sinai after the reception of the Ten Words, the Israelites had instructions conveyed to them of a corresponding nature. In sacrifice an altar of earth was to be raised, but if stone were used no tool should be lifted upon it, for that should defile it. Here is one of the many touches of intimacy in the practices of the two peoples that call for mutual consideration and comparison.

778 The Grove. The Tree, the White Stone and the Altar together constitute the Chiang sanctuary in the High Place. All are Sacred. One is not without the other. None of them is worshipped but all form essentials in the approach of man to God *and of God to man.* Account for the origin of these ideas as one may, we cannot deny their existence, or refuse to believe that the Chiang themselves give full credence to the tradition of their divine establishment.

A High Place is not chosen, as might be supposed, merely for its commanding elevation. It is rather chosen because they think of God as dwelling on high in the Heavens; and ascent to his altar gives natural expression of their desire to meet him. Up on the mountain side in the heart of a grove the world is shut out and the soul shut in with God. Nothing intervenes between man and his Creator. Here amid unspoilt surroundings, in the true Sanctuary of nature, the Father Spirit is pleased to meet with the humble suppliants of His grace.

778 Those who doubt this have to explain why the Chiang worship 782 takes place at night. There is nothing then to be seen but the starry lights of Heaven. Absolute stillness reigns. Distraction is far removed. The whole thought is centred on the act of worship. Only a true seeker after God cares to make the climb. To him the darkness of the night is no deterrent, the risk of inclement weather no hindrance. The securing of the divine Presence is the great quest of his soul. Into his own moral darkness he wants the light of God to shine.

776 The Chiang have two names for God: "Abba Chee" or "The Father Spirit" and "Ma-Be Chee". or "Heavenly spirit". The first is the more common, and beautifully expressive. God is the Father of all personality or spirits of men. How fundamental this is to all true religious belief it only takes an instant to realise, and

3: Torrance E-4 (no date) 1933 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

them. He is regarded as the Interpreter of all that takes place in the sacred grove and as The Agent who mediates between them and God.

At every sacrifice, accordingly, the priest has a sacred symbol of his presence, and this symbol is given a personal name. It is a roll of white paper in the form of an ancient book. Every priest guards his Roll with the most zealous care and regards it with the utmost veneration. No stranger is allowed to see it and no worshipper may even touch it. Neither will any priest tell an outsider of its existence. Without the presence of the Roll all sacrifice would be in vain. For it signifies the virtual Presence of the Heaven-Sent-One at the altar. Indeed he and the sacrifice are one.

[212] Originally the Chiang had their own scriptures, or writings. With the loss of the knowledge of letters, what was once a sacred roll of their law is now only a mere cylinder of white paper. But it preserves the form. It represents the reality. This explains their veneration for it. The roll denotes the spiritual nature of their offerings to the Father of spirits. They are offerings of righteousness consummated by the Heaven-Sent-One through his death for man's sin.

That he has to die for this purpose the priests take care to signify in a very unusual way: a small skull, or death's head, is inserted in the upper end of the sacred Roll. No one unitiated in the mysteries of the white religion would ever guess its meaning there. A second look has to be taken before indeed it is seen. The figure of death is embedded in the volume. This intimation is so plain that it is unmistakable. Even though it be surmised that the roll was originally without this tangible interpretation of its meaning, nevertheless the innovation reveals plainly the thought of the death of the Sin Bearer from Heaven as commonly held by all Chiang priests.

The writer has one of these rolls with the death's head in his possession. At the decease of an old priest who had it, a Christian Chiang secured it for us from his family.

The messianic message in the fortieth Psalm strikingly corresponds in thought to this age long aspiration of the Chiang, as evidenced in their Sacred Roll, and the mind of the man must be very dull that does not marvel at the closeness of the correspondence. "Sacrifice and offering", it says, thou hast no delight in; mine ears thou hast opened: burnt offering and sin offering hast thou not required. Then said I, Lo I am come; in the Roll of the book it is written of me; I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart". (R. V.)

The name of the divine Sin Bearer is also arresting: it is so like that of Jesus. The sound varies in different localities but the correspondence is close. In one place it is "Nee-Dsu", in a second "Je-Dsu," in a third "Rhe-Dsu" and so on. This can be put

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

or ch'i means god. Literally it means sky god. This idea is closely related to that of T'ien 天, meaning sky, God of the Sky or Heaven, of the Chou dynasty Chinese, and it must be remembered that the Ch'iang lived close enough to the Chou about 1121 B. C. to unite with them in the conquest of the Shangs.[1] At present many of the Ch'iang identify Mu Bya Sei with Yu Huang Shang Ti 玉皇上帝, the highest god of the Taoists, and also with the Christian God. Mu Bya Sei is the greatest of all gods, is righteous and pure, controls everything everywhere in heaven and on earth, requires righteousness among men, protects men and domestic animals, gives rain and good crops, and helps people secure children and a numerous posterity. 776

The supreme god is worshipped near sacred white quartz stones, called in different localities lu sha, lu ts'a, lo p i etc. Its whiteness symbolizes the purity and righteousness of the god. The white stone is sacred and holy, and near it communion with the god is natural and easy. Not every white quartz stone is sacred. It must be the right shape, somewhat pointed at the top and with a wide base on which it can stand upright. The sacred white stone has superhuman power, and for this reason it is placed on top of graves, and on walls in front of doors to keep demons from entering the house. Generally the sacred white stone is not identified with Mu Bya Sei, but we have met some individuals who have affirmed that the white stone is Mu Bya Sei. The use of sacred white stones is widespread in Si K'ang, eastern Tibet, and among the tribespeople of western Szechwan. 778 776 823

The sacred white stone is used as a place of worship on the top of every house, at the rear and in the center, on the highest point of the back wall. Below it is a small platform and a hole for burning incense. Here Mu Bya Sei is worshipped by the men of the household. Another sacred white stone is found in the temple in or near the sacred grove, and still another on the shrine near the sacred tree or trees in the sacred grove.

A second god is Abba Mula(a· ba· ma la·), mo lo sei (mo· lo· sei) or abba mo lo sei. Near Tung Men Wai, Lung Ch'i Chai, and Mu Shang Chai he is sometimes called Ndjei Tsu or Nyei Su. No priest is without this god, for without it he would be powerless. It is his patron or guardian deity and instructor. This god consists of the skull of a goldenhaired monkey wrapped into a round bundle in sheets of white paper. Inside are also dried pieces of a golden- 776

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

the eighth moon, or the first day of the tenth moon. He dances, beats his drum, and chants his "sacred books." 793 796

2. Since the souls of people that die violent deaths become demons, their bodies are cremated.

3. Demons are enticed by the priest into jars which are buried upside down on cross-roads or near the graves of the persons whose souls have become demons.

4. It is believed that if a man or a woman has pain in his bowels or chest this is caused by a demon. A ploughshare is heated white-hot, the priest chants and treads on the white-hot ploughshare with his foot, then treads on the stomach and chest of the patient, and waves the hot plough-share over the chest and stomach, and sometimes over the back, of the patient. This exorcises the demon. [755]

5. He divines to determine lucky days—for weddings, for beginning a journey, for starting to build a house, and many other things. Priests are supposed to have no books, but some priests have a book in which there is no writing, but there are many pictures. The twelve creatures of the zodiac occur several times in the book. This is a book for divination, and especially to determine lucky days. [787]

6. He conducts funerals.

7. At Mu Shang Chai the writer was told that the priest makes connections with the Earth Vein Dragon and with the Earth Mother and tells them to protect the deceased.

8. At Mu Shang Chai it was also stated that the priest ceremonially purifies the clothing of the deceased by incantations, smoke, etc., and that he informs the twelve gods of the decease.

9. He performs special ceremonies of worship on the housetops when requested to do so.

10. He performs special ceremonies on the housetops or in the sacred groves in performance of vows.

11. He ordains new priests.

12. He performs the ceremonies of setting up new gods in the homes.

The above list is probably not complete.

5. Sacred Implements.

The implements used by the priests in worship are sacred, and are to be handled with reverence. They are also naturally surcharg- 778

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE
Ch'iang

778 ed with potency so as to add to the efficacy of the priest in his ceremonies.

534 778 1. The sacred drum. It is covered with goatskin on one side only, and has a handle inside on which there is generally some crude carving. There is one drumstick. Sometimes paper cut into strips is pasted onto the edge of the drum to represent hair.

292 778 2. The priest's hat. It is made of the skin of a golden haired monkey. The ears and eyes are left on, and the tail is sewed onto the back. In front are old cowries arranged into patterns, polished circular white bones that are thought to be the kneecaps of tigers, and sometimes seashells. Occasionally on the hat is a silver plaque on which there is some Tibetan writing and the word *sang* 賞 or reward in Chinese. This plaque is given by a local Chinese magistrate for assistance in praying for rain or performing some other ceremony. It adds to the prestige of the priest.

3. A sacred cane with a sharp point at the bottom are generally having a human-like head carved on the top to represent the king of demons. This cane, like that of the Taoist priest, is for exorcising demons. Very rarely a design representing a snake is carved on the cane. Naturally a snake on this sacred stick would make it more efficient in the exorcising of demons.

4. A brass gong, six to eight inches in diameter, slightly concave inside. It has a tapper and a leather handle. Similar brass gongs are used among the Nashi or Moshi of western Yunnan and by black lamas in west China and eastern Tibet.

5. A ceremonial dagger or sword. With this the goat or cockerel that is sacrificed is killed by cutting the throat. It also inspires fear in the hearts of the demons.

6. An iron or brass seal on which are elaborate Chinese characters. This is exactly like that of the Taoist or Buddhist priests, and also like that of the *Tuan Kung*.

[177] 7. Carved boards for printing charms on paper. The charms consist of Chinese characters.

8. In some localities there is a skin bag into which the priest puts pieces of meat or other objects given him for his services.

10. There is a collection of eagles' claws, Chinese bronze or brass coinlike charms, wild goats and wild boar's tucks, small horse-bells, etc.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE
Ch'iang

11. A long naturally notched antelope horn. If a person has 778
a pain in his eyes, hand, back or leg, the point of the horn is dug 755
into the ground, the priest chants, water is poured onto the disturbed ground, and the demon is exorcised.

Small brass mirrors are sometimes also worn on the priest's 778
ceremonial hat. Cowry shells have mysterious potency, and on the ceremonial hat add to the efficacy of the priest. Sometimes cowry shells are sewed onto the hats of babies to protect them from demons.

Some sacred implements found only in limited areas have been omitted

6. Sacred ceremonies.

As has already been stated, most ceremonies in the home are 796
performed by the head or by another member of the family. On special and important occasions the priest is called in. Friends and relatives may attend. Since women are considered to be [562]
impure, they are not allowed to attend any ceremonies in the sacred groves, or on the housetops. Inside the home they must stand at a distance during the ceremonies.

Practically always there is a bloody sacrifice as a part of the ceremony. A goat, a cockerel, a yak, a "p'ien niu" or cow from the grasslands that seems to be half yak and half cow, or rarely a pig is offered. It is never a cow that has been used in plowing. The sacrifice is a gift to the deity, and the primary purpose is to make a contact with the god in order to secure his favor and help. In central Asia there is a widesprsad practice of presenting to an important person a gift as a means of securing his friendship and assistance, and it is generally expected and welcomed by the giver of the favors. This idea is transferred to the gods, with the result that before a favor is asked there is a ceremony of worship in which incense, candles, and spirit money are burnt, and gifts are made of wine, or pork, and the sacrifical animal is killed as a means of presenting it to the gods.

Mu Bya Sei and the other gods are righteous, and require good conduct on the part of their followers. Forgiveness of sins naturally is included in the list of favors sought, but that is far from the only

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

796 purpose for the offering of sacrifice. Rain, good crops, health, children, protection for the domestic animals, protection from the demons that cause disease and other calamities, as well as the benign favor of the gods and heart-reviving communion with them, are among the things sought.

796 The burning of incense is a vital part of worship. Indeed, this
782 seems true of all native religions in central Asia. The Ch'iang generally use cedar twigs, although sometimes incense sticks and candles are added. More rarely the leaves and twigs of two bushes and a large-leafed shrub that grow in very high altitudes are substituted for cedar twigs. The fragrant odor is believed to please the deity and cause him to be more propitious. Spirit money is sometimes burnt with the belief that burning transforms it into actual money that can be used in the spirit world.

Generally some unleavened bread is offered. Among the Ch'iang and other people in the highlands no bread is leavened, so the offering of unleavened bread was originally accidental

In most localities the goat offered is not a lamb, but a full-grown animal between three and six years old. It is usually white, but in many localities a dark-brown or black goat can be used. It must be of only one color, and unblemished—that is, its horns, ears, etc, must have no defect.

The shedding of blood is a natural part of the sacrifice. The blood is not shed for the remission of sins, but is a necessary part of the performance. After the sacrifices in the groves blood is generally sprinkled on the door of the temple to show that the sacrifice has been performed. When the sacrifice is on the housetop, blood is generally not sprinkled on the doorposts, and when it is done it is generally to frighten demons and to keep then from ente ring the house.

796 In some villages Mu Bya Sei is worshipped on the housetops on
776 the first and on the fifteenth of each moon, and also on new year day and on some other days during the first month. In some localities the great gods are worshipped in the sacred groves th ree times, the first day of the sixth month, the first day of the eighth month, and the first day of the tenth month. but the tendency is to perform the sacrifices less frequently. There are villages in which it is performed only once a year.

796 On the days when the great ceremonies are performed in the
778 sacred groves, and on the second and third days afterward no stranger must pass along the roads near the sacred grove nor enter

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3
Ch'iang

the village. If anybody does so, serious calamities may result. Near Ts'a To the writer was told that once two strangers entered the village a day or two after the sacrifice had been performed, with the result that during that year many of the domestic animals died.

7. Sacred Groves.

Every village has a sacred grove. Its trees, which are generally oaks, are sacred and must not be cut down. In it are from one to three trees that are especially sacred and near these is an altar capped with a sacred white stone. In front of this altar the sacrificial animal is killed. In or near the sacred grove is generally a small temple made of stones and plastered together with clay. There are no images in it, but in one corner is a sacred white stone.

There is a procession led by the priest and the master of ceremonies followed by men and boys from all the homes in the village. They first go to temple where the priest chants, beats his drum, and now and then dances. Then they march to the altar near the most sacred trees, where the animal is sacrificed and offered to the gods. Then they return to the temple where the meat is cooked and divided, and the flesh is eaten. A large cake of unleavened wheat bread is offered with the goat.

Most of the ceremony is performed at night and very early in the morning. The sky and the stars above, the trees and shrubs below, the darkness and the silence, the sacred trees and the altar with its sacred white stone, give an atmosphere of awe and wonder so that the worshipper believes that he meets his gods and feels their very presence. The worshipper experiences the emotional thrill that is realized through the belief that he has had actual communion with his gods.

In recent years some of the sacred trees have been cut down and used, some by Chinese soldiers, and others by the Ch'iang themselves.

8. The Tradition of Hebrew Origin.

Before the establishing of the Chinese Republic neither Chinese, foreigners, nor Ch'iang had any idea that the Ch'iang were Hebrews. It was approximately 1915 when Rev. Thomas Torrance began to work among the Ch'iang people. He sincerely loved them, and tried to help them by teaching them the Christian religion, by opening schools (which he was prevented from doing), and by giving them good bulls, cockerels, etc. One of his early converts, and the most

mewu

a k'ang on the outside wall opposite the door. It is a couch raised about 60 - 70 /centimeters/ from the floor, made of bricks and hollow inside. The hollow area is equipped with drafts and serves as a stove which is fed from an opening in the outside wall. 352

dug through the floor. Fire can be kindled in these and they are connected with the hearth so that the fire gets sufficient draft. /21/

The furnishings are placed chiefly along the wall where the tent roof slopes down and where the tent is thus lower. On the rear wall of the right side, next to the place where the fuel is kept, 1/2 meter above the floor, is the family altar, a simple rectangular wooden box about 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. On this family altar stand bronze statues of the Buddha and small bowls for holy water. The rest of the space along the tent wall is chiefly filled with bags made of coarse yak hair, in which provisions are stored, with dried yak and sheep dung, with saddle gear for horses and yaks, and with skins. Guns are often kept on a separate stand. Dried meat and yak maws in which butter is stored are hung from the ceiling of the tent. A section of the right side of the tent is sometimes closed off by boards not more than 20 centimeters high and covered with dog skins. This serves as a special resting place. 778 ● 353 352

The women's section on the left contains first of all the utensils needed for the dairy. These are chiefly three cylindrical wooden tubs 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and 75 centimeters in diameter, whose staves are held together by hoops made of withes. One of these tubs, usually the smallest, nearest the rear wall, is used to store the sour milk. In the center is the butter cask; nearest the front, a large milk tub. The tub containing the butter is closed at the top and has a hole through which runs a long, heavy stamper. Suspended from the ceiling of the tent, above the milk tub, is a bag of coarse material, through which the whey can be strained from the curds. 234 462 342

Next to the tent a short stake is driven into the ground, to which the watch dog is tied. In front of many tents there are also one or two poles 3 meters high with lines from which hang prayer pennants. Very occasionally there is a simple round sheepfold next to the tent, made of boards and poles. 231 788 343

The winter houses are also very primitive. They are usually /22/ placed along the rear wall of a courtyard enclosed by mud walls two meters high. The only opening in the enclosure is a gate in the 342

Mewu

776 themselves by bringing sickness. If someone is suddenly seized with
753 violent internal pains, it is feared above all that the earth spirits have been offended. You can offend them by scratching up the earth, a belief which is strongly reminiscent of Chinese conceptions regarding feng-shui (geomancy).

778 I did not hear anything among the Mewu-Fantzu about water spirits, but in Labrang there is a sacred spring. Once as I was riding by, I saw four lamas slowly encircle this spring, amid song and drumbeat, a ceremony which is performed when the weather is unfavorable, particularly when it is too wet or too dry.

776 There is also a cult of tree spirits among the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu who live below the timber line.

Of the earth spirits in the narrower sense, we must distinguish mountain spirits. In Tibet, as in China, there are mountains whose spirits or gods are the objects of special veneration. The most notable among these is the Amne Machin range in the northeastern reaches of Tibet, about which little is known. /45 In the large lamasery of He-tso which lies between Labrang and the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu, a friendly lama, one of the lamasery artists, made for me a beautiful picture of Amne Ma chin as a mounted male god surrounded by numerous other gods. (The picture was unfortunately lost in the chaos of war.)

In the more restricted area of the Mewu-Fantzu the mountain spirits known as "ami" who are pictured as living in the "obo," (1)

1. In re "obo" and "ami" see Rockhill, page 734. "obo" is a Mongolian word.

are the most venerated. It took me a long time and required many conversations before I was able to understand the whole complex of ideas surrounding the obo and its ami.

778 Every mountain on which there stands an obo (Tibetan: lab-dza) is particularly sacred. The obo of the nomadic Mewu-Fantzu consists of a wooden structure into which, year by year, sacrificial wooden darts are stuck, so that the obo looks like a bundle or bouquet of darts often more than two meters high. Twigs of bushes are also stuck into this bundle of darts. The darts vary in size, and may be a meter or more long. Every Fantzu visits the obo at least once a year and takes with him a wooden dart or the branch of a shrub as an offering. The t'ou-mu (chieftain) has the privilege of giving especially long darts. Tufts of sheep wool and khadaks are also stuck into the obo.

mewu

stuck into the obo. 000

The ami who dwell in the obo are regarded as tutelary spirits of 775
man and beast; they guard against sickness, cattle diseases and other misfortunes, as for example, the threat of war. Among the sedentary Fantzu they not only protect the animals, but make the fields fertile as well. In war the ami are leaders and protect people against being wounded. Personal offerings are frequently made to the obo or the ami-spirit, especially when there is sickness in the family or when other misfortunes occur. For example, I observed four riders with two long /46/ wooden darts wound with juniper shrubs, place them on the obo near my tent.

Oddly enough, I was told that the ami can be very much disturbed by predatory animals (wolves, wildcats, foxes).

Once a year a general obo festival is held, when the largest num- 776
ber of darts and khadaks are offered. In time the weather destroys many darts, so that the obo only gradually increases in size.

It seems that the obo are erected on elevations that have been 778
held sacred since ancient times. At any rate, my interpreter Wang had never seen the erection of a new obo. However, the Fantzu say that the obo in the northeastern part of the territory is much older than the one in the northwest.

Each obo has its anniversary on a specific day of the year. In the territory of the Mewu-Fantzu there is a large obo that outranks the others, and is worshiped by the nomads as well as the sedentary Fantzu. Its anniversary is the 14th day of the 5th (Chinese) month. There are two more obo in the uplands, which are revered by the nomads only, and at a lower elevation three obo for the sedentary Mewu-Fantzu.

The cult of the obo is a noteworthy example of the syncretism 777
of folk religion and Lamaism: 778

The ami (mountain spirit) which is imagined as living in the 776
obo and which was without doubt an original element of Tibetan folk belief, has a strange relationship to the incarnations of Lamaistic religion. There is an obo for every lamasery, and it is erected on an elevation overlooking the confines of the lamasery, being to a certain extent analogous to the relationship of a Chinese pagoda to a district city. In the magical thinking of the Tibetans the ami dwelling in the obo is related to an incarnation (fu-yeh, huo-fu). Thus there exists in some measure a mystical trinity - obo, incarnation and its corresponding Buddha or Bodhisattva of the Western paradise. /47/ As a result, certain festivals are celebrated at the

Mewu

obo and in the lamasery on identical days of the year.

The day of the obo festival is also celebrated as the birthday of fu-yeh. My interpreter, trying to make clear to me the relationship between obo and fu-yeh, once compared the obo with a p'ai-wei, i. e., a Chinese ancestral tablet, since the deceased fu-yeh is thought of as dwelling in the obo as well as in the Western paradise.

On New Year's, on the fourth day of the first Chinese month, to be exact, a festival is held in the temple of the lamasery. On this occasion fireworks are set off in honor of the deceased incarnations. At the same time there is a festival at the obo to invoke the mountain spirit. On this occasion butter, tea, a wether (!) and cypress wood are sacrificed. A piece of meat from each of the four extremities and the breast, the ears and the lower jaw are burned with the cypress wood, to indicate that in reality the entire animal has been sacrificed. This offering is made in order to safeguard man and beast and protect the country from war. Thus Lamaistic religious practices are here combined with animal sacrifice which stands in sharp contrast to actual Buddhism. (1)

1. Schröder's 8) account of the mountain spirit of the Tujen in the Sining region is very noteworthy for the manifold combinations which the spirit inhabiting the obo can take on: "The mountain spirit is bound to a certain locale and has its stronghold, its permanent dwelling, in the obo. It can enter the shaman as an assistant spirit, and take possession of him in a trance. The earth god also has its dwelling in the obo; it is in the layer of earth."

It is also characteristic for the syncretism of folk religion and Lamaism that sorcerers (böm-bu) as well as lamas can offer sacrifices at the obo.

Whereas the ami living in the obo are tutelary spirits of the entire tribe, each family also venerates special guardian spirits within their tent. These might be compared to the ancient Roman lares familiares. My Chinese interpreter called them Chia-shen (house gods, Tibetan: Yu-la). (1) There are no images of them.

1. However, compare Hermanns, page 48.

Instead, a bunch of hair from various animals hangs in the left rear

787 792 when the crime can be discovered and in what direction one must travel to capture the criminal.

The strange blend of folk religion and Buddhism or Lamaism is 177 771 expressed very clearly, for example, in the ideas which the Mewu-Fantzu have about life after death. On the one hand, they worship their ancestors, and apparently believe that the souls of these dwell in some form near the tent, since that is where offerings are regularly presented; and they also fear the evil spirits into which the souls of people having died a violent death are transformed. On the other hand, the Buddhist belief in transmigration of souls, whereby the soul can be reborn as a human being or animal, is commonly accepted. Thus our above description of the odd fear of the Mewu-Fantzu chieftain that the soul of his brother may have entered a groundhog, and his subsequent decree that groundhogs were not to be shot, was probably based on the confused blend of a belief in the transmigration of souls and in the danger of spirits of human beings who have died a violent death.

353 /60/ The cult at the family altar belongs primarily to Lamaistic 778 religion. In every tent the altar is on the right (male) side, at an 177 elevation of 1/2 meter above the ground, behind the hearth and next to the place where the fuel is piled up. It is a simple, rectangular wooden box that is 1/2 meter high, 40 centimeters deep and 1 1/2 meters long. In the middle of the altar there stands a small brass statue of Buddha, with three larger and three smaller bowls of water to the left, and four larger and four smaller ones to the right. These bowls are supposed to correspond to holes in the heart of Buddha. On the family altar of a böm-bu there are, as we have said, also prayer books, a large Chinese brush and a row of copper coins.

262 177 The numerous food taboos go back to Buddhist influence. The Fantzu abstain altogether from eating the meat of horses, mules, donkeys and dogs, all fowl and fish, as well as eggs. At present the meat of groundhogs is also forbidden (1). They eat the meat

1. also pork, see above, page 25.

of sheep and yaks, but these animals are not killed in the ordinary way; they are strangled, and thus the crime of shedding blood is avoided.

782 Prayer runs through the entire daily life of the Fantzu. It is usually limited to the Lamaistic formula: "Omi mani padme hum." This they mumble especially while fingering their beads and if

539 lamb to the Sacred Forest for the New Year celebration on the first day of the tenth month /of the lunar calendar./

"The greatest are Heaven and Earth,
/12/ Next to them is the Sacred Forest."

2. Gods on the Roof and Inside the Stone House.

776 [342] The top of a Ch'iang house is like the roof garden of a Western house. In the center is an agricultural and pastoral workshop. Along the walls are places for worshiping gods. There are gods on every 776 roof of a Ch'iang house, but the number of gods on each roof may be [778] different. For example, at Lo-pu-chai in Wen-ch'uan hsien, there are on the roof of a Ch'iang house five gods, represented by five pieces of white stones.

1) Mo-pǐ-tzé	God of Heaven
2) Rü-bü-tzè	God of Earth
3) Tzǔk-si	God of Mountains (God who sustains the earth)
4) Sǐ	Goddess of Mountains
5) Si-wa	Lord Kuan.

In Li-fan, the Ch'iang at Hou-erh-k'u and Shang-san-li worship nine gods on their roofs:

1) A-pä-mǔbe-da	God who created Heaven and Earth.
2) Rǔbe-wé-ngi-tzè	Goddess of Earth.
3) Dsu-ru-pee	God of Redeeming Vows and Opening Roads.
4) Abe-shi-gai-ki	God of Mountains (Different Mountain Gods in different places).
5) Bò-wa-tzè	God of Building Houses.
6) Ta-là	God of Directing War (who showed the Ch'iang the way to defeat the Ko.)
7) Shgee	Door God of Heaven (who will take care of everything.)
8) Mǔ-gee	The Wise Man in the Ch'iang

791
773 The reason why the tuan-kung wears a monkey-skin hat(jar-tă), worships a monkey-headed old master, and beats a sheepskin drum (i-bou) is as follows: -- According to legends, the tuan-kung, having obtained sacred books, took a rest on his way home and fell asleep. At that moment a white sheep came and ate up the sacred books. When he woke up and did not see the books, he realized that they were already in the sheep's stomach. Unable to find a way out, he cried. Then came a gold-striped monkey who asked the tuan-kung why he cried. The tuan-kung told the monkey what had happened. The monkey, said, "You can buy this white sheep, eat up its meat alone by yourself and make a drum with its skin. Every time you beat the drum, you will recall one sentence in the sacred books."/17/ The tuan-kung did as he was told and remembered indeed all the words in the sacred books. Later, the tuan-kung again wept because of his shortage of traveling expenses. The gold-striped monkey came again and led him home. After the death of the monkey, the tuan-kung, to show his gratitude to the monkey, made a hat with the monkey's skin, and using the monkey's tail, he made three pointed corners on the hat: from left to right, the first corner was called pi-ngi-shăr (meaning a clear distinction between black and white); the second
•778 was called mo-bi (heaven); and the third ru-bu (earth). Then he
791 wrapped the monkey's head in paper and worshiped it (adding one more wrapping of white paper after each sacrifice) and called it Old Master (abe-tcha-h-kou).

[292] When the tuan-kung is sacrificing to the gods or redeeming a vow, he wears the monkey-skin hat. But in exorcising evils, he wears a kind of hat made of bamboo, pasted with a five-colored paper. It is called tan-tsu. In many places the tuan-kung wears the same kind of colored hat as the lama's. This may be the result of cross-cultural influence.

The sacred wand, or ser-ko-ta-bo, is one of the tuan-kung's important instruments. The length of the wand ranges from four to five feet. On its top is a figure of god made of iron or bronze. Under the god's head hangs a bronze bell. The end of the wand is a spear-head which can be thrust into the soil. This is used in exorcism, conveying souls, curing diseases, and war. An old tuan-kung also uses it in dancing to the god. But it cannot be used in sacrificing to the good gods.

The magic bell or sounding plate (shi-tsai-la) is made of bronze. But the hammer inside is made of cow's horn and is attached to an iron chain, which is connected with the handle. The latter is decorated

with a flowery cloth or animal hair. It has the same function as the sacred wand. 778 791

The tuan-kung has another kind of magic instrument called sze-ge-rá in the Ch'iang language. Using an animal's horn as trunk, it has many things hanging around it such as the wild beasts' bones, paws, and teeth, and old coins. It is used in sacrifice to chase away dirty things. It is also used in summoning souls. Similar to this are two other magic instruments. One is what the Ch'iang call wa-shar, which strings together all the paws, teeth, and bones of the birds and beasts on a leather belt and is used in exorcism and curing diseases. The other is a bundle of twenty to thirty copper plates carved with the devils' images and hung on an animal horn. It is used by the tuan-kung to cure insanity. Finally, the tuan-kung has another instrument called je-tchu-ka-pi, meaning holy water vase, which looks like a dragon's head and is used to hold water. The tuan-kung uses it for curing diseases.

The tuan-kung may be called the spiritual leader of the Ch'- 791
iang tribesmen. He remembers the Ch'iang history. He can communicate with ghosts and gods. He can control nature, summoning wind and rain, and multiplying cattle and grains. He is the physician who can cure all diseases. He also has the power to change even the vicissititudes of fortune. Such a person must have divine power. However, according to what is said, the tuan-kung nowadays is not as powerful as in the old days. Fifty to sixty years ago, the tuan-kung was still able to fly. Tying two wine cups on both sides of his chest, the tuan-kung could leap into the cloud and all his magic instruments would follow him and fly. It is said that once a tuan-kung forgot to take out his instruments in a flight. After his taking off, his sheepskin drum made big noises in the box. His home folks opened it, and out jumped the drum. As it did so, it knocked down a person and killed him. The drum and all the other instruments followed the tuan-kung to the destination. After the service, all the instruments flew back home except the drum. The tuan-kung knew there must have been some reason. He hurried back and investigated and found that an unfortunate accident had indeed happened. A strange thing like this is hard to believe when you first hear it. However, this is quite common in primitive theology. Didn't the Yukat people, who believed in sorcery, think that the sacred drum was the shaman's horse and that he could ride it to heaven?

The tuan-kung is a kind of magician. All magicians can

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China

Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

ST
978

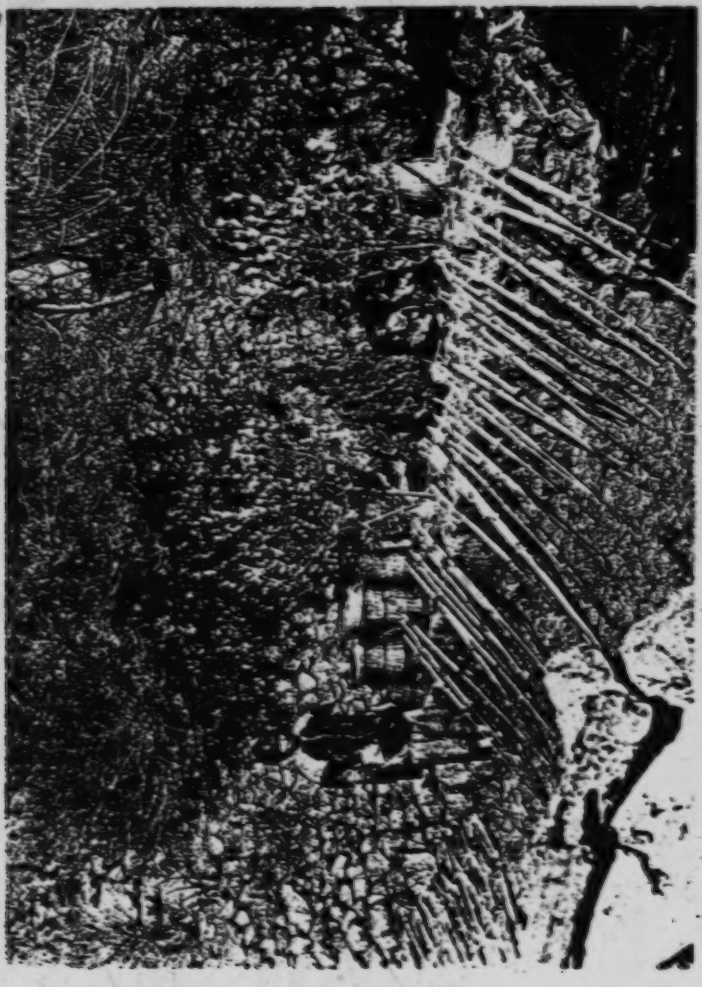

PLATE 65. — A NA-KHI MUAN-BPÖ D'A

Each clan, designated by a family name, has its own altar, at which to propitiate Heaven. On the altar are three trees, from left to right: an oak representing Heaven, a Juniper representing the Emperor and an oak representing Earth. In the foreground large incense sticks ready to be lighted and put into the ground.

[p. 140 A]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border People AE3

PLATE 135. — THE MYSTERIOUS SACRED SPRING AT BBĚR-P'ĚR-DTĚR

聖地聖泉

The spring is situated at an elevation of 8,650 feet in the center of a hill. The Bbĕr-p'ĕr-dtĕr sinter terraces owe their origin to this carbonate of lime-bearing spring. The white wooden rods surrounding the spring are *k'o-byu* on which are painted various *Klü-mun* or Nāga, serpent spirits, whom the *dto-mbo* propitiate.

[p. 220-0]
S ST 722 133

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3
S
133
ST
1778

PLATE 140. — THE SACRED GROTTO SHI-LO NE-K'O

多巴聖窟實景

It is the wish of every Na-khi Dto-mba to visit, at least once, this sacred grotto where their teacher used to dwell. Two dto-mbas are performing a religious rite.

[p. 244 D]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

ST 795

of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

ST 162

The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

ST 771

S ST 346 778

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] རྒྱལ་བསྟན་རབས་མི་པོ།

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必基村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必基寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 喇嘉佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.